PEACE NEWS

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DEATH STILL PAYS A DIVIDEND

Arms shares slump in peace 'scare'

THE NEW YORK STOCK MARKET LAST WEEK SUFFERED ITS SHARPEST BREAK SINCE EISENHOWER'S 1955 HEART ATTACK. "SPACE AGE" ARMS STOCKS SLUMPED AFTER THE NEWS OF THE FORTHCOMING TOP TALKS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND MR. KHRUSHCHOV.

The arms industry, missile, aircraft and electronic shares—those, as The Times observed, "likely to be affected most by a thawing of the cold war"—fell heavily in the peace scare.

For example, one electronics firm, Texas Instruments, dropped over 31 points in a week. In other allied stocks prices fell by up to $10 a share. Chemicals, motors and rubber shares also fell heavily at the time of year when the Wall Street market normally rises.

This is the madness of capitalism: any peaceful alternative to the present all-devouring arms race would bring panic swiftly followed by disaster to the American economy.

There is no plan in the USA to meet such consequences. No serious thought has been given to the economic consequences of disarmament.

What if the Top Talks should produce a need for disarmament? Either the need will be dishonestly put aside

AN EDITORIAL

and the problem thereby avoided, or we could readily see a slump at least on the scale of the inter-war years.

So great is the production surplus of the United States today—much greater than before the war—that only arms manufacture can avert massive unemployment. So the annual $40,000,000,000 military spending programme continues.

As long as production remains for profit disarmament will cause an American crisis which in turn will be a world crisis.

The only possible means of achieving disarmament is by changing the system: by gearing production to world need instead of to profit.

It is because this would destroy the capitalist basis of society that it is not entertained.

Until World War II such an analysis was an inevitable feature of socialist propaganda. It is a tragic commentary upon the moral content of socialism today that such condemnations of armaments to bolster an economy of profit have been abandoned.

For export

The latest reminder of this was in the recent Report on the export trade in British weapons. "Socialists" were amongst the first to cry for increased exports.

Until serious attention is given to this problem in the USA the Communist charge of insincerity in approaches to disarmament must inevitably carry weight.

A genuine US willingness to examine the economic implications of disarmement would be the most telling single piece of evidence of sincerity.

FICTION BECOMES FACT

Germ warfare to replace H-bombs?

THE United States has been urged to "strengthen" research into chemical warfare. A report published by the Congressional committee on science and aeronautics on August 8 strongly recommended trebling the country's spending in this field.

Leading military officials are now trying to overcome public horror of chemical, biological and radiological warfare, reports the New York Times.

During its investigations the committee watched a demonstration of nerve gas which could incapacitate but not cause personal injury.

Some forms of chemical warfare, the committee reports, offered the "prospect and hope" of winning battles without taking human life or destroying homes and factories. "If force must be used, this is better than many of the alternatives," the committee adds.

Representative Overton Brooks, who arranged the demonstration, remarked: "It is a matter for concern that only one-thousandth of the US defence budget is earmarked for chemical and germ warfare weapons. It is not enough."

The incapacitating agents fall into two groups, the committee reports. The first group includes those that "produce temporary physical disability such as paralysis, blindness or deafness." The second group includes agents that produce "temporary mental aberrations."

'Promising'

The committee was shown a film of a cat under psychochemical influence. The cat's character was so reversed that it was afraid of mice.

Another film showed soldiers exposed to one of the psychochemical agents and "unable to follow simple commands."

The committee noted that experimental work in this field, although "promising," was at an early stage.

One of its recommendations was to "increase intelligence and surveillance of foreign developments in chemical and related warfare methods"—i.e., more spying.

Last year Major-General W. M. Creasy, Chief Chemical Officer, US Army, told Congress that science fiction descriptions of nerve gas, paralysing gases and gases that affect the minds of men could well become closer to the realm of fact than of fiction in the next five years.

In Harpers Magazine for June Brigadier-General J. H. Rothschild, US Army, Retired, had an article on "Germs and Gas, the Weapons Nobody Dares Talk About."

Biological warfare, he said, can be made to "strike an entire population at the same time"—everybody sick at once and everything coming to a stop.

In the privately published Service newspaper, Register and Defense Times, Major-General Marshall Stubbs, chief chemical officer of the army, reported that within each of some 300 Soviet divisions, chemical warfare troops are assigned to all echelons down to the battalion.

AMERICANS TOLD:

Speak out against new H-tests before Oct., 31

AMERICAN peace groups have been warned that October 31 sees the expiry of the year-long ban on nuclear tests which President Eisenhower announced last August.

"Pressures to resume testing are mounting in the Atomic Energy Commission and Congress," say the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the American Quaker body which keeps a close watch on peace issues in Washington.

"The public must again speak out. Negotiators at Geneva have made substantial progress towards a treaty to end nuclear tests, though difficult problems remain."

The Committee also draw attention to the fact that the US Senate approved a sum of $2,400,000 on July 14 for the Defence Departments "public relations" activities, but refused to provide $500,000 for technical and scientific studies of armaments reduction and control.

'MILITARY REBELLION'

THE nine Spanish students who were arrested for preparing and distributing leaflets calling for a 24-hour protest strike against the Franco régime (PN, July 24) appeared before a military tribunal on August 16.

They were charged with "military rebellion." Tomas Llorens and Cesar Cimadevilla were sentenced to three years' imprisonment; Manuel Novo one year's imprisonment; Isabel Munoz was acquitted. The others received sentences ranging from a year to six months.

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RALLY TOMORROW

A workman who has given up his employment at the Polebrook Missile Base will be among the speakers at a Direct Action Committee rally at the base tomorrow, Saturday.

A march leaves Polebrook village (near Oundle) at 2 p.m.

THE SAHARA TESTS

SUNDAY, AUGUST 30

March from Marble Arch (2 p.m.) to

TRAFALGAR SQUARE 3 p.m.

Speakers include official representatives from

GHANA TUNISIA NIGERIA MOROCCO

Friday, August 28, 8 a.m.—6 p.m.: Picket of French Embassy (58 Knightsbridge)

Organised by the Committee of African Organisations, 200 Gower Street, London, N.W.1, and the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, 344 Seven Sisters Road, N.4.

INSIDE THE LEFT

Alan Lovell reviews

Tribune 21. Edited by Elizabeth Thomas. MacGibbon and Kee. 18s.

TRIBUNE 21 is a collection of articles from the weekly socialist newspaper which was first founded by Stafford Cripps and Aneurin Bevan in 1937. It provides a very good basis for assessing the value of Tribune.

Nobody can fail to admire Tribune's courage and independence. It has never been afraid to criticise the things it disliked. It started off in the late 'thirties as a popular front newspaper; during the war it was the only paper which, while approving of the war, was consistently critical of the way the war was conducted; it was a critic of many of the Labour Government's actions between 1945 and 1951; and during the early 'fifties when an authoritarian bureaucracy began to kill the Labour Party, it fought very strongly against that bureaucracy.

Despite all this, I find Tribune a very unsatisfactory paper. Partly it is a matter of tone. Tribune manages to create a feeling that we are living in a permanent crisis. We are either 1. on the brink of disaster because of the betrayals of our leaders or 2. on the brink of success, thanks to the efforts of millions of ordinary people.

★

Michael Foot's comments on the 1956 Labour Party Conference are an example. As a result of the Conference, he wrote:

"Politics has ceased to be a game of the 'ins' and the 'outs.' If Labour wins at the next election—and the hope has been brought immeasurably nearer in the past five days—the power will not be used for trivial purposes.

"It will be used to secure a big extension of public ownership, a genuine enlargement of human freedom, a dramatic change in our relations with the people of Asia and Africa, who are also insisting on their rights, and a much more imaginative effort to end the stupidities and sterilities of the cold war."

It took only a year for the next Labour Party Conference (held at Brighton) to make all these claims seem wild exaggerations.

The reason for the crisis atmosphere that Tribune creates is that it has little sense of perspective or of political theory. Events are judged as if they had no relation to other events; an official declaration of policy by the Labour Party will be welcomed without any assessment of how likely the Labour Party will be to carry it out.

Several reviewers have commented on Tribune's lack of interest in political theory. This does not mean that there is no political theory in Tribune. Implicit in nearly all the writing in Tribune is one of two political theories. The first is a fairly crude version of Marxism, of which Aneurin Bevan is the most notable exponent; the other, is a full blooded Liberalism of which Michael Foot is easily the best exponent. But these theories are never examined. This is a pity since many of Tribune's weaknesses seem to me to stem from the inadequacy of these theories.

★

The Marxist theory played a bigger part in the pre-war Tribune than it does in today's paper. One would not often find a passage like this in a current Tribune (except, perhaps, in the letters):

"A united working class can take the offensive. It has the massed power out of which courage and hope are born. It is able to take the initiative from its opponents' hands. It is able to give direction to its effort. A united working class can go forward to a defined goal. It can move on the central positions. It has none of the doubts which, through hesitation and compromise, lead straight to defeat."

Although this is a very strong affirmation of belief in the power of the working class, it should be noted that this belief does not extend to the international working class. The British working class might have such a potential but the working class of other countries did not, particularly those in the fascist countries. Tribune had nothing to say in 1939 when the working classes of Europe began to butcher each other.

Tribune 21 also reveals the inadequacy of Marxism in other ways. Take nationalisation for instance. For Marxists, the crucial fact of politics has always been control. Once you had gained control of a country or an industry, all other things were added unto you. So Marxists have generally not paid a great deal of attention to the form that control should take. First nationalise an industry and then worry about questions of workers' control, etc.

★

The experience of both the Soviet Union and Great Britain is pertinent comment on this. Nationalisation in both these countries has had little effect on the actual working lives of people. It is not surprising that although Tribune has consistently advocated more nationalisation, it has not taken much interest in workers' control.

The weakness of the liberal theory is most evident in Tribune's attitude to the Labour bureaucracy. In the early nineteen-fifties, Tribune continually attacked the machinations of the Labour Party and trade union leaders who dominated the movement. But it was never able to suggest a remedy for this failure of democracy. I first started to read Tribune at this time, and I remember feeling completely hopeless in face of the block vote. How could one beat this vote when it seemed securely in the hands of a few dictatorial trade union leaders like Arthur Deakin and Tom Williamson. Tribune's only answer was Aneurin Bevan.

The reason for Michael Foot's rhapsodic outburst which I have quoted was Bevan's election to the treasurership of the Labour Party with the support of the unions. Again, it took only a year for the price that Bevan had to pay for this support to become obvious.

The kind of weaknesses I have pointed to in liberalism and Marxism are fairly obvious. But the unconscious dependence Tribune puts on these leads to more serious weaknesses

I think these weaknesses can be summed up as a failure of sensitivity to new developments in society. As evidence of this failure I would instance Tribune's attitude to nuclear weapons, and to culture.

Tribune's reaction to the dropping of the A-bomb on Hiroshima is the best example of this that emerges from Tribune 21. After a fairly perfunctory first two paragraphs about the frightfulness of the bomb, Tribune's editorial goes on to discuss how this destructive power can be harnessed. Naturally, the solution is the great liberal dream of world control. And before the end of the editorial Tribune is partly blaming the Tories for the Bomb. "In this century catastrophe has stolen a long lead and all the elements of traditionalism, and narrow, purblind nationalism which have always formed the backbone of the Tory Party, cheered on its way with ignorant imbecility."

There is absolutely no sense of the significance of what the Bomb means. It is treated as if it were just another weapon which would have to be brought under international control. And surely to try to associate only the Tories with the A-bomb (it was after all a Labour Government that was in power when the Bomb was dropped) is both politically dishonest and imaginatively false.

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There are few signs in Tribune 21 (or in the current paper) that Tribune has appreciated the importance of culture. One would hardly guess from Tribune that one of the most important developments in British society since the war has been the growth of television and advertising; the vastly increased circulations of women's magazines; and the pernicious values that all these purvey. Tribune has confined its cultural sections mainly to book reviews; and these reviews have often been written by what one might call the anti-Establishment Establishment—people like John Lehman and Kathleen Raine. Though one ought to say here that nearly everything George Orwell wrote for Tribune is still worth reading.

Tribune 21 is a good representative of the climate and attitudes of the established Left in this country. If I have dwelt on the deficiencies that Tribune reveals in these attitudes, it is because I feel that the established Left has less and less relevance to the world we live in. The politics of the future will surely develop from rather different attitudes.

Beware of false sense of security from CD

—U.S. TOWN PLANNERS' WARNING

LEWIS MUMFORD and 12 other distinguished American town planners have warned against a false sense of security being created by civil defence programmes

Expressing a belief that their professional responsibilities now include the urgent need to help protect urban communities from total destruction by nuclear weapons and radio-active pollution, they have gone on record with the following statement:

"We recognise that our ability to effectively reduce the vulnerability of cities has been nullified by the awful increase in the destructive power of nuclear weapons during the past decade. We have no faith in the concept of a 'limited war' which would spare our cities—we agree with our military leaders that nuclear weapons of indescribably great power would inevitably be used to destroy our cities should a major war break out.

Inadequate

"We assert there is no longer any possibility of adequate civil defence against a major nuclear war, and we assert that the fall-out shelter programmes are utterly incapable of providing even a modicum of protection against a determined enemy. We believe that such policies tend to lull the country into a false sense of security about the effects of nuclear war by continuing to hold out hope for survival where there is none.

"We recognise that the positive steps to be taken to protect our cities from nuclear destruction lie in political action, but as professional planners we feel compelled to assert the following technical judgments:

"1. That the present civil defence and fall-out shelter programmes are incapable of protecting American cities and their citizens in the event of a nuclear war.

"2. That the only way to protect our cities against nuclear attack is through negotiation for the cessation of testing and use of nuclear weapons.

"We urge that the Board of Governors of the American Institute of Planners . . . appoint an official committee to report on further steps the profession should take to help ensure that the destructive potential of nuclear explosions and radio-active pollutions are never used against our communications."

CAMPAIGN CORNER

Prepare now for Sept., 12 - 19

'Let Britian Lead' Week

YOUR local newsagents can play a vital part in Nuclear Disarmament Week.

Persuade them to display one of the free posters shown below, together with Peace News on their counter. Supplies of the paper, for delivery to shops at trade terms, can be sent to you on "sale or return." (See below).

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Please make sure to send an early order (see coupon below) for plenty of extra copies of the only paper standing four-square for unilateral disarmament.

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

by PHYZ

TEST CASE

ON July 1 last year the yacht Phoenix sailed into the forbidden US nuclear testing area in the Pacific, north of Eniwetok. The crew wanted to continue the mission of the Golden Rule by protesting against nuclear experiments and by testing the legality of the Atomic Energy Commission's action in sealing off 390,000 square miles of open ocean.

The skipper of the Phoenix, Dr. Earle Reynolds, was arrested on the high seas and sent to Honolulu, where he was tried, found guilty of a felony, and sentenced to two years in jail.

An appeal was made on June 1, and a re-trial was ordered because of judge's errors in the original proceedings—he had refused to permit Dr. Reynolds to defend himself. At the same time no ruling was made on the constitutional and legal issues at stake.

Last Monday was set by the Government as the date for the re-trial, and the prosecution starts again from the beginning. There was no balance left in the Fund set up to help pay for trial number one and its appeal. Now the prospect of prolonged appeals has made financial support of the first importance. I very strongly urge practical sympathy being sent to: Phoenix Defence Fund, PO Box 5199, Honolulu, Hawaii. Dollars or an international money order will be very welcome for many months to come.

A good form of publicity for the Phoenix story is a 20-minute 16mm sound documentary film, "The Forbidden Voyage of the Phoenix," which is available at a nominal charge from: Syd Cassyd, 917 S. Tremaine Street, Los Angeles 19, California. In Britain it may be hired for 15s. from Eric Walker, 154 Corbyn St., London, N.4. (ARChway 7200).

Dr. Reynolds is a former associate professor of anthropology at Antioch College. Later he worked for four years with the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in Hiroshima.

One of the most encouraging aspects of the first trial was support from the American Yachtmen's Association, which is made up of over 2,000 members, generally conservative, Republican yacht owners. The Association's Monthly Newsletter urged support of Earle Reynolds' Defence Fund on the issue of freedom of the seas. "There is growing danger to our whole democratic process of government in the increasing usurpation of power by government agencies," said the Newsletter.

THAT MISSING £200



YES—in spite of generous donations received while I was in Brussels and East Germany, the Peace Pledge Union's HQ Fund is still "down."

Not that I am depressed, because I believe that HQ Fund will again reach its aim for the year—which means that I have every confidence that YOU are going to help. I would only say "the sooner the better."

Another reason for not being depressed is that the War Resisters' International Council meeting in Brussels was most encouraging in its reminder of the growth and spread of pacifism throughout the world.

We did not expect any spectacular results from our visit to East Germany but, here again, we are encouraged to think that a good start was made. We established contacts which could lead to further contacts with peace movements in other Communist countries and which certainly gave us a personal experience of conditions in the German Democratic Republic and made for a better understanding of the causes of tension between East and West and how it can be removed.

The fact that the Peace Committees in the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic do not have any anxiety about getting the money they need for extensive campaigns might have made us feel a little envious. But we would not wish or expect to receive the same official backing which they do. We should and do expect the support of those who know the vital contributions which pacifism has to make, and the PPU HQ Fund relies on some of that support.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Total received to date: £510.

Total needed by the end of the year: £1,250.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Idle speculation

"It is an interesting, though idle, speculation, what would be the effect on us if all our . . . politicians and life-arrangers in general were soaked in Homer from their youth up, like the Greeks. They might realise that . . . the quality of a man matters more than his achievement; that violence and recklessness will still lead to disaster, and that this will fall on the innocent as well as on the guilty."—Kitto, "The Greeks."

Rockets in Shredded Wheat

AN American reader, Mrs. Roy Kepler, of Los Altos, California, recently wrote to the National Biscuit Co. registering her disapproval of their advertising inserts in shredded wheat boxes.

The series of cards, "Defenders of America," specially designed to appeal to children, showed a range of missiles and nuclear weapons capable of killing millions.

The following letter came back to Mrs. Kepler from the public relations department of the company:

"We are quite disturbed over your reaction to the 'Defenders of America' inserts used in our cartons of Nabisco Shredded Wheat.

"We can appreciate your point of view, as we too are against war and violence. However, the fact remains that these missiles and weapons do exist, and children are interested in them to a great degree. We feel that if they learn more about how inappropriate war is in approaching problems, perhaps they will be somewhat wiser than past generations.

"I cannot blame you if the presence of these premiums in our cereal disturbs you and you avoid our cereal as a consequence. However, these cards can be used to teach children that war is a pretty stupid waste of talent and materials and human resources. For this reason, we feel this premium is a genuinely educational item, which can be used constructively by parents and educators."

So Mrs. Kepler took up her pen again:

"Your letter was a textbook example of Orwellian doublespeak: war is peace; pro-war is anti-war.

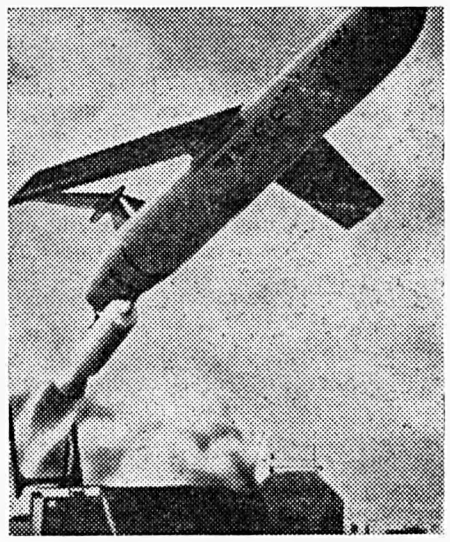
"Using your same 'public relations' logic, may I propose that your company next run a 'Defenders of Prostitutes' series complete with glossy action pictures and with an exciting story of each on the back of the picture.

"Your letter to a complaining mother would read as follows:

We are quite disturbed over your reaction to the "Defenders of Prostitutes" inserts used in our cartons of Nabisco Shredded Wheat.

We can appreciate your point of view, as we too are against prostitution and prostitutes. However, the fact remains that prostitution and sex do exist, and children are interested in them to a great degree. We feel that if they learn more about how inappropriate prostitution is in approaching sex problems, perhaps they will be somewhat wiser than past generations.

I cannot blame you if the presence of these premiums in our cereal disturbs you and you avoid our cereal as a consequence. However, these cards can be used to teach children that prostitution is a pretty stupid waste of talent and materials and human resources. For this reason, we feel this premium is a genuinely educational item, which can be used constructively by parents and educators."



"A genuinely educational item" in shredded wheat boxes.

The end of the story: back came a reply from public relations recognising that the company had "antagonised" a consumer. The letter ended: "You may be interested in one thing: the cards are no longer being used. . ."

The I.R.A. in the West End

UNTIL a few years ago, the English stage was very much an after dinner, upper middle class form of entertainment. In the last few years it has become much more lively and serious. Most of the credit for this change belongs to two theatrical companies, the English Stage Company (at the Royal Court Theatre) and Theatre Workshop.

One of Theatre Workshop's productions has now been running for some months in London's West End. It is Brendan Behan's very funny play, "The Hostage," which tells how a young English conscript is captured and held as a hostage by the IRA. "The Hostage" is really four plays rolled into one. In it there are attacks on the IRA, British colonialism, conscription, the Lord Chamberlain, and many other subjects. And to match the wealth of material, Behan uses music hall sketches and songs, Irish folk songs, and straight drama to put it across.

Altogether, "The Hostage" makes a very exciting evening's entertainment. My favourite joke in it is when the IRA explain to their prisoner that they are keeping him hostage to stop the English Government executing one of their men. Williams (the conscript) replies: "I can just see the Minister of War now, waking up in the middle of the night and saying to his wife 'You know I can't sleep a wink for thinking of that b—— Williams.'"

Enduring work

JEROME DAVIES, American pacifist, who sponsors in Connecticut the organisation called Promoting Enduring Peace, called in to see us in London on his way back from the Soviet Union, where he had taken a group of 30 or more Americans on an extensive tour.

He is an old Russian hand, speaks the language, and has been visiting the country at frequent intervals since the Czarist days in 1916 when, dogged by secret police, he was engaged in the setting up of YMCA welfare centres for Russian troops.

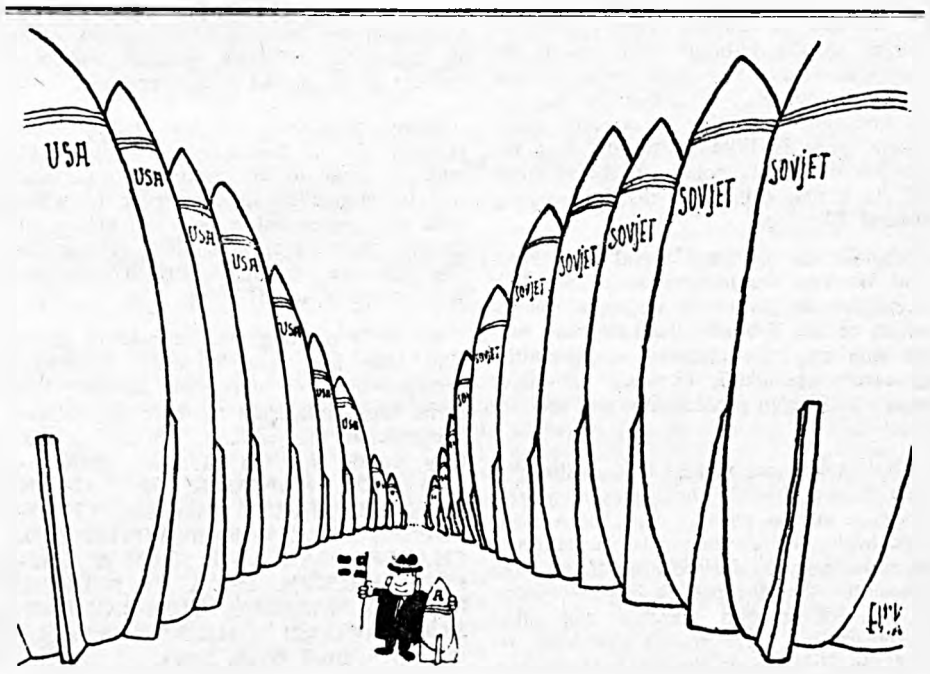
In the inter-war years he was the first American journalist to have an interview with Stalin.

Back in the United States, one useful piece of work which PEP has undertaken is the distribution, through the ministers of churches in race tension areas, of 100,000 postcards giving Martin Luther King's seven points for the winning of racial justice:

1. Use active non-violent resistance to evil.
2. Never seek to defeat or humiliate your opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding.
3. The non-violent resister seeks to defeat the forces of evil, not the persons who happen to be doing evil.
4. Avoid external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. (Hating the opponent.)
5. Accept suffering without retaliation.
6. Have confidence that the universe is on the side of justice.
7. Recognise that the centre of non-violence is the love of God operating in the human heart.

Quote of the week

"Peace between magnates is to be regarded with suspicion when the eminent princes have arrived at it not through love but by force."—"Life of Edward I" by the so-called Monk of Malmesbury, *circa* 1326.



TRYGGHET

This cartoon, captioned "Security," appears on the front of postcards which the Action Group against the Swedish A-bomb is producing. The Group has issued an exposé from the military, political and moral points of view of the idea of nuclear weapons for Sweden. Their programme calls for the continuation of the discussion of how the resources at present devoted to the military can be used for humanitarian work. (It was recently announced that Sweden is to borrow a British Bloodhound missile for military training purposes.)

A Franco-German Bomb?

THE Daily Herald claims that there is financial and technical co-operation between the French and German Governments in the construction of the A-bomb, which the French propose to test in the Sahara. There have been official denials of this coming from both Paris and Bonn, but the Daily Herald returned to the charge and a more detailed statement on the subject was then issued from French official sources.

It is true, it is said, that there is work in co-operation in some laboratories between French and German scientists. At the Franco-German laboratory at St. Louis, for instance, there are specialists of the two countries working together on electronic problems which are of equal interest for the defence of Germany and France. In the Sahara there are German technicians participating in experiments on rockets. Most of the German scientists have been working together in research with French scientists since the end of the war.

It is denied, however, that there is co-operation in the actual preparation of atomic arms. If in some German laboratories there are Germans who are pursuing studies related to atomic energy, it is only a question of pure research which cannot have any influence on the manufacture of atomic arms.

There have also been denials of Russian statements that the French will construct the H-bomb after having experimented with the A-bomb. French official spokesmen declare that they are tired of denying these rumours, and will not trouble to do so in future. It is admitted, however, that although there has been no official statement that the French Government has decided to manufacture the H-bomb, possession of the A-bomb is a necessary stage in the creation of the H-bomb.

. . . unpleasant propaganda

SO much for the allegations and the denials. But we cannot ignore the propaganda that the Herald is building on its allegations. Theirs is a crude attempt to link an anti-German sentiment with prejudice against de Gaulle's claim for an equal place with Britain in directing NATO policy. Between de Gaulle and Adenauer, says the Herald, there is a common bond "in a determination to cut down Britain's influence on the Continent, both political and economic."

The desire of de Gaulle, or Adenauer, to assert French or German national power is not more—or, of course, less—evil than is the desire of the British Government and the Labour opposition to assert British power. Every reason that has been urged by Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Gaitskell or Mr. Bevan for the retention of the H-bomb by Britain can equally be urged by French statesmen as to why France should have it; and also, after a necessary interval, by German statesmen.

When the Herald says that de Gaulle is hurrying to get the Bomb "in order to blackmail the US and Britain into giving him a dominating voice in the affairs of NATO," it is only finding an abusive way of complaining that de Gaulle wants to get the Bomb for the same reason that Bevan wants to keep it. The Frenchman has similar reasons for not wanting to appear naked in the council chamber.

Laos: no surprise

UNLESS Messrs. Eisenhower and Khrushchov produce a miraculous relaxation in world tensions, it is difficult to believe in a genuine ending of the internal Laotian troubles at a foreseeable date. In the two, in certain ways similar, cases of Korea and Viet Nam, political and economic internal antagonisms finally produced division: anti-Communists united in one state in the south, Communists and enemies of the old régimes in the north. Thus, North and South Korea and North and South Viet Nam came into existence.



Given the general political unrest in South-East Asia at the end of the world war, it was certain that quite apart from the urge for independence the clash of beliefs which caused the Korean and the internal Viet Namese wars could not leave Laos unmoved.

But there, due partly to the warning of the barbarities of the Korean and Viet Namese fighting and partly to somewhat different conditions, the hostility between the internal parties did not lead to the establishment of two separate states. It was smoothed over, not to say smothered, without being cured; and then it began to fester.

There is nothing to be surprised at therefore in the present eruption, nor will there be in any future troubles if the Laotian Government is allowed to continue its repressive and oppressive methods. It probably has right on its side in complaining that the Laotians "are disturbed by a systematic press and radio campaign from Peking and Hanoi, seeking to stir up civil war in Laos." (Are there not a good many other countries in this present world against which the same accusation can be raised with justice?)

The danger to world peace lies in the geographical situation of the country, which turns it into a sort of Far Eastern Berlin, a fatally focal point for the two basic antagonisms—Communism and Westernism, both well entrenched in nearby places—to come to blows.

It is fortunate that both Washington and Moscow (if less so Peking) are, at least for the time being, relaxation-minded; fortunate too that the Laotian Prime Minister is reported to have asked for the presence of one or two United Nations observers, but less fortunate that he wants these observers only in the northern part of Laos and not in the offices of his own administration. Nor is he to be praised for not wanting the international commission, indefinitely adjourned a year ago, back in his country. Of that, Britain and Russia shared the chairmanship, and India, Canada and Poland were members.

Rival campaigns . . .

EARLY in May the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament announced that the week from September 13 to 19 would be Nuclear Disarmament Week, during which intensive campaigning would take place all over Britain. It was made clear that this would be a major activity of the Campaign, comparable in national impact to the two Aldermaston Marches.

Then last week-end the Labour Party announced that it has selected September 14 to 20 as "national recruiting week." During this same week every local party is expected to hold important public meetings.

This action by the Labour Party is clearly intended to diminish the significance of the Campaign's Week and to syphon off supporters from one activity to the other. It is important to remember that this is exactly what the Labour Party leadership has done whenever the Campaign has achieved a major breakthrough. After the unexpectedly successful march to Aldermaston last year the Party hurriedly advanced the date of its own "peace campaign" several weeks. Two meetings and a Strachey pamphlet later the Labour campaign was quietly shelved as the political temperature fell.

This year, as soon as unilateral nuclear disarmament had been adopted as policy by a major trade union, the Party rushed through its "non-nuclear club" policy to stem the revolt on that front. An appearance of concessions was made; it was also arranged to recall the union to bring its nuclear policy into line with the leadership. And now the Party plans to challenge Nuclear Disarmament Week.

All these reactions of the Party indicate a readiness to act swiftly and unscrupulously against unilateral action. The fact must be faced that the Labour leadership has made it abundantly clear that the choice for Campaigners will have to be between the Party leadership and nuclear disarmament, for they cannot have both. The future of the Campaign probably depends upon how long this choice is postponed.

. . . and Party loyalty

LAST week we pointed out the inconsistency in the Right-wing Labour weekly, Forward, which attacks the cowardice of Tory MPs for not voting against the Devlin Report on Nyasaland, yet also speaks of "treason" if campaigners for nuclear disarmament rock the Labour boat on the eve of a General Election.

This inconsistency was put to Forward last week by a correspondent who received the following editorial reply: "The dispute over the H-bomb is not a moral issue, except for the pacifists. It is essentially a matter for a simple political judgement: which of the courses proposed is most likely to lead to the removal of the fear of nuclear war."

Of course, the Nazi gas chambers were not a moral issue either—they were merely a matter for the "simple political judgment" of whether they would make Germany a better nation! We should be interested to hear why the H-bomb is a moral issue for pacifists only. Pacifists believe that there are certain things that one does not do to one's fellow men. The editor of Forward believes this also. He should surely spend a little more time contemplating the implications of this in nuclear policy, and less time asserting blind Party loyalty.

LETTERS

The General Election

DESPITE the vigorous discussions on the question of Labour Party policy in relation to the H-bomb with which the trade unions, that constitute the great mass of the Labour Party membership, are for the first time beginning to concern themselves, there is little possibility that the question of British policy on the H-bomb will be a major issue in the forthcoming General Election.

Whether or not the General and Municipal Workers are induced to retract their declaration in favour of unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb, the two main parties will face the electors in substantial agreement upon this, as upon all major aspects of foreign relationships and military policy.

The consequence will be that on the vital issue of the H-bomb that so many people recognise as the political issue of greatest importance, the elector will not be given an opportunity to declare himself. All the thousands who, through their participation in the Aldermaston marches and other demonstrations have shown that they regard the H-bomb as the issue of primary political importance will be confronted with a situation in which they will be wasting their votes if these are cast for either of the candidates presenting themselves.

Moreover, many will feel that, as none of the three political Parties is willing to forego the right to use the H-bomb as a weapon in certain eventualities, a vote for either Party is, therefore, a consent on the voter's part to permit the use of the Bomb. There must be many supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament who, on moral or religious grounds, will not consent to be placed in this position.

Many, therefore, will feel that a more positive use of the franchise will be to make it clear to all concerned that they will be compelled in conscience to withhold their votes unless they can obtain an explicit undertaking that their representative will vote against the British manufacture or use of the H-bomb.

An early meeting will be held of those who take this view in order to make arrangements for concerted action. We invite those interested to write to Wallace Hancock at this address, whether or not they reside in the London district.—**WALLACE HANCOCK, J. ALLEN SKINNER, HARRY MISTER, CHRISTOPHER FARLEY, JOHN LOVERSEED, CHARLES MARLAND, JOAN & CLIFFORD WICKEN, Dr. A. D. BELDEN, RONALD MALLONE, GODFREY BARBER, LEONARD TOMKINSON, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.**

A beaten foe?

I HAVE read Professor Barnes' article on Hiroshima in Peace News (August 7) with the greatest interest. I have often argued myself that Japan was already "on her knees" when the atom bombs were dropped, but have been unable to prove it. People argue that the Japanese "suicide fighters" would never have surrendered, and that the Japanese empire could only be destroyed by making it "cave in from the middle."

Professor Barnes provides me with useful counter-arguments, and I shall certainly endeavour to check his sources. But can you, or any of your readers, account for "Roosevelt's contemptuous dismissal of MacArthur's recommendation of negotiations for peace"? The situation seems too paradoxial: they drop the atom-bomb to shorten the war, yet they refuse to negotiate a peace offered six months previously; their real purpose (apart from testing the bomb) is to "give democratic diplomacy an equaliser as against the post-war power of the Communist colossus," yet "far Eastern booty and spoils" are almost "forced" on Russia at Yalta.

I have been brought up to respect Roosevelt: was he in fact a raving lunatic? Surely he must have had some reason for his contradictory behaviour, however bad the reason, and criminal the behaviour?—**RENE GILL, 19, Goldieslie Road, Sutton Coldfield.**

WITH reference to the article asserting that Japan was already a defeated country when the Americans dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945,, I, also, for many years believed this, and that the Bomb was dropped to hasten the lingering death and/or try out the latest and most frightful bomb of all.

Recently, however, I have been told on the authority of a friend working in the War Office at the time—and whose integrity I completely trust—that it was a top secret in August, 1945, that Japan was by no means "finished" and that Washington was very worried about it. Their headache was the latest Japanese weapon—to which there was no "conventional" weapon answer—viz., the suicide pilots, those twentieth century emissaries of the "divine wind" which defeated Kubla Khan's invasion in 1281.

The supply of these young pilots willing to crash-dive their planes on the enemy's ships for the glory of the Emperor they then believed to be Divine was virtually inexhaustible—and the American answer to it was the ultimate weapon of the A-bomb, a demonstration of a power so terrible that the Emperor himself was bound to declare the obvious—that further resistance was useless.

It is interesting that in his article Dr. Barnes makes no mention of these suicide pilots and their fanatic heroism.—**ETHEL MANNIN, Oak Cottage, Burghley Road, London, S.W.19.**

First class film

THE "March to Aldermaston" (1958) film, which I have used three times, is by far the best peace film I have seen and has a unique impact on American audiences. The numbers of people in the march, their gaiety in comparison to the often pretentious seriousness of American demonstrators, and the superb dramatic



German war resisters marching from Dortmund to the British Rocket Regiment's base at Brackel. On the right in the centre picture Harry Marsh, of the London Pacifist Youth Action Group, walks near Hemlata Devi, an Indian pacifist. Herbert Compton, an Australian, is holding poster showing three bombs.

DORTMUND DEMONSTRATORS TELL THEIR STORY

WHEN an international protest team of eight people went to the British Rocket Regiment's base at Brackel, near Dortmund, Germany, it was found that one of the huts were filled with American servicemen.

As briefly reported in Peace News last week, the team set off for the base at the close of a German march from Dortmund to Brackel which formed part of the Hiroshima bombing commemoration.

About 100 yards from the base they found their path blocked by four policemen. When the team halted they were approached by an officer from the camp who warned them that they would get into serious trouble with the German police if they moved on.

They thanked him for his advice and started to walk through the cordon of four policemen.

What happened next was described to Peace News by Francis Hansen, 22-year-old German speaking New Zealand conscientious objector:

Over the fence

Being outnumbered, the police could not hold everyone at once. Some of us were bundled into a waiting police van, others went on walking down the road.

Colin Johnson and Harry Marsh jumped out of the van. Colin scrambled over the fence and into the base. Harry Marsh was held round the neck and nearly strangled by a policeman.

Harry instinctively struggled to break the hold, while Sally Johnson cautioned in an emphatic voice: "Harry, remember, non-violence." Harry thought he was going to pass out for all time; I thought so too.

A second police van then drove up for the two girls sitting in front of the gate at the base.

Here is Colin Johnson's story: The policeman was too big to follow me over the fence. I walked through the camp putting stickers on the doors until I got to a building which had notices on it bearing the words "US Officer Commanding."

I went in and found a number of privates sitting round, feet up on their desks.

I asked if I could see the Commanding Officer and was told to wait. While I waited I told the men why I had come and what I thought about weapons of mass destruction. Through the window I could see policemen searching for me in the bushes.

After some discussion with the privates a junior officer came in and told the men not to talk to me. About twenty minutes later the police arrived and took me off to the police station, where I found the rest of the team.

Dumped in a wheatfield

After being questioned at the police station each of the team were driven individually to different points in the countryside around Dortmund and left there.

"I was put in the middle of a wheat field, eight miles from Dortmund," Frances Hansen told Peace News.

"I walked three miles till I came to a tram and rode back to Dortmund Central where we had all arranged to meet in the event of separation. We were all reunited within half an hour."

The five British and New Zealand members of the team decided that they would return to Brackel the next day with a letter to the Commanding Officer.

This time there were no police in sight and they marched right inside the gates, gave the letter over to an officer, and satisfied walked back up the road.

What happened next is described by Francis Hansen:

After we had walked a little way a police car came up and stopped. We were asked if he had just delivered a letter, and I handed over a German translation of the following:

Sir, As citizens of Great Britain and the Commonwealth we wish to protest to you in the strongest possible terms about the siting of a British rocket base at Brackel. Our attitude towards nuclear, or any other types of weapons, is that they have not, and cannot, *protect those things which we value. We are pacifists, and we would state that since your rockets can only destroy, the sooner the world is rid of them the better. ...*

Nor do we feel that we are alone in our plea for sanity. In Great Britain during the past two years there has been an increasing concern shown by people about the dangers of so-called nuclear "defence"; you may have heard of the demonstrations at Aldermaston and the non-violent obstruction at the North Pickenham rocket base.

We would therefore, Sir, wish to state to you that so long as there exists in the world weapons of mass slaughter—of the kind under your command at Brackel—then we will continue to protest, to campaign, and to obstruct in accordance with our principles. We appeal to you and to your men to turn away from methods which have only brought death and misery in the past, because we know you are capable of using your minds and energies towards constructive ends.

Yours sincerely, COLIN JOHNSON, SARAH JOHNSON, FRANCIS HANSEN, ELAINE RICH, HARRY MARSH.

This the police read over the radio to their HQ. A second police car drove up and we were asked to go in it to the police station. We were glad of the ride, for we had all walked far the day before. The police were quite friendly and said that they too were against atomic weapons. Jovially they asked us if we had found our way home all right the day before. I said that the march from Dortmund was enough without an additional walk back to town.

At the police station we were questioned by a security officer who seemed somewhat angered by the fact that we had beaten them to the barracks that morning.

"You realise that any further civil disobedience of this nature will get you into serious trouble?"

"We don't intend doing any more at present," I replied. "We are poor people and must hurry back to England before we are broke. Anyway, we have done our work here, and there is no point in staying."

They were more than satisfied and let us go. After a final call on the newspaper office (they had given considerable coverage to our activities) the five of us who had met at the War Resisters' International Youth Study Conference at the Freundschaftsheim went our separate ways.

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structure make this an extremely useful film.—**ARTHUR SPRINGER, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.**

Training in non-violence

I WAS alarmed when one American Southern Negro leader recently declared that Negroes should meet violence with violence. Yet, unless we move quickly to show the effectiveness of direct, peaceful methods to achieve integration, how can we expect to hold off the spread of bitterness —which almost inevitably leads to violence and bloodshed?

To meet the great need for practical training in non-violence, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has planned an inter-racial *Action* Institute to take place September 5 to 20 in Miami, Florida This is no programme for the fainthearted: Institute members from various parts of our country will work side by side with Miami CORE members challenging patterns of segregation.

There are two ways in which we desperately need you help:

First, we need applicants for membership in the Miami Institute. We hope you will yourself apply to participate. Failing that, you may know of others who could be an asset to the Institute. We especially want members capable of applying to their home communities what they learn in Miami. Time is short. Please send in applications and requests for additional information immediately.

Second, to make the Institute possible and to provide *scholarship* aid for volunteers who would not otherwise be able to participate, we need your *generous* financial support. To place the entire burden of the Institute on our fast-dwindling resources would jeopardise our regular programme. We believe that you will want to make an extra contribution for this all-important training in non-violence.—**JAMES R. ROBINSON, Executive Secretary, Congress of Racial Equality, 38, Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.**

Art for world friendship

SINCE 1956 the North Carolina Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has been conducting a successful inter-racial children's art class. Included in the project is an exhibition of Art for World Friendship drawings in the University library.

Details of the League's Art for World Friendship scheme, which aims at promoting international understanding through the world-wide exchange of children's drawings and paintings, can be obtained from Miss H. Walmesley, 138 Oak Tree Lane, Birmingham 29. School teachers are especially invited to participate.

* * *

The Mayor of New York has formed a committee to consider a world fair in 1964 to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the founding of the city.

Sybil Morrison's Column

... ANOTHER MAN'S POISON

I have not the slightest doubt that Mr. N. Chamberlain was inspired by Heaven and guided by God who took pity on His children on earth by crowning his mission (Munich) with such relieving success.—Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II to Queen Mary, October 1, 1938.

AS I write, propped up against a wooden breakwater on the hot sands at Borth, with the sun shining in a blue sky reflecting itself in the gently rippling waves of a summer sea, Munich and all that it heralded seems very far away.

Acute remembrance of it was brought close to me through reading an instalment of the late Queen Mary's Biography by James Pope-Hennessy in The Sunday Times, from which the above extract is taken. It is nearly twenty-one years since Neville Chamberlain returned from Munich waving his "scrap of paper" proclaiming, in the name of peace and of honour, his nefarious bargain with Hitler.

It is not for pacifists to pronounce what those committed to the war method should do when they find that in spite of their armouries of weapons, their warships and their bombing aeroplanes, they do not, after all, want to go to war; there is no pacifist blue-print for saving militarists from dilemmas of their own making.

Nevertheless, they could not condone this perilous, abortive appeasement at the expense of other people's liberty and independence, particularly when those same Czechoslovakian people had been promised British support; it was a horrible gamble, and a most infamous arrangement.

The ex-Kaiser may announce that God, through Mr. Chamberlain, took pity on His children, but the people of Czechoslovakia might well have asked: "Which children?" One man's meat in this case, was undoubtedly another man's poison.

"Peace with honour," cried Mr. Chamberlain, and the late Queen Mary, an obviously sincere peace-loving woman was capable of writing to her son, the late King George VI: "I am sure you feel as angry as I do at people croaking as they do at the PM's action, for once I agree with Lady Oxford who is said to have exclaimed when she left the House of Commons yesterday: 'He brought honour and peace, why can't they be grateful?'"

The truth is that the majority of people *were* grateful; like the Ex-Kaiser they thanked God for saving them at the expense of what Mr. Chamberlain had called "a far off country." It was apparently too far off for them even to imagine the German storm-troopers marching over the Sudetanland border and setting up signs on railway stations, post-offices and public offices in the German language; it was too far off for them to picture the indignity and humilation of appropriation by foreigners of national industries and national institutions; and this, through an agreement without consultation, over the heads of Government and people, by the Prime Minister of a nation which had committed itself to their protection.

It is to be assumed that those in this country who were most liable to "croak" were those who wanted to fight Hitler there and then, and who looked upon Chamberlain's so-called appeasement as a betrayal of Britain's heroic history.

Pacifists were not deceived that the tyranny of war could be appeased; it was fairly clear even then, in 1938, that the peace so grandiloquently proclaimed was closely linked with war. The same newspapers which reported the terms of the Munich agreement carried also the Premier's urgent call to arm, and to arm quickly.

The precariousness of the peace was soon all too plain; the shadow of September 3, 1939, already lay over the country, and the invasion of Prague foreshadowed the martyrdom of Warsaw. Mr. Chamberlain was afraid of the horrors of war, but not of its immoral expediencies, and whether he believed God directed him, or not, it was without doubt those dreadful expediencies that horrified many of the people who most longed for peace.

"No more Munichs!" shout some; "No more Hiroshimas!" shout others, but the only possible way to avoid a repetition of these tragedies is to shout "No more war," and hold to it.

TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOCIETY—IV

By Margaret Tims

A COMMUNITY FOR SPASTICS

IF a society is to be judged by its attitude to its weaker members, then perhaps England is not such a bad place after all. There has been a growing consciousness since the war, both within and outside the "welfare state," of the need to help those who cannot help themselves.

The spontaneous movements for the care of the handicapped which have sprung up simultaneously in many countries may indeed be a kind of expiation for the sin of the war. This, at any rate, is the view of J. H. Watson, lifelong pacifist and Warden of Prested Hall, near Colchester, the first residential centre for adult spastics in the world. When he went there three and a half years ago, shortly after the opening of the centre, he had never heard the word "spastic." But, he says, "neither had anyone else."

The size of the problem

Spastics are those people, approximately one in every thousand of the population, who are born with cerebral palsy: that is, with damage to those parts of the brain controlling movements. Sometimes they are mentally affected, in which case they come under the care of the National Health Service. But most spastics are quite bright mentally, with an average IQ; their difficulties are in talking and walking and performing other actions demanding co-ordination of movement. They are physically handicapped but they are not "sick," and so they are not helped by the Health Service.

The National Spastics Society, which sponsors Prested Hall and over 50 other centres of varying kinds for children and adults, is a voluntary organisation which was founded in 1952 by parents of spastics; in five years it raised £1,000,000. One centre like Prested Hall costs up to £9,000 a year to maintain. It houses 30 spastics, and there are estimated to be 30,000 in Britain (strangely enough, no records are kept of physically handicapped people). That is the size of the problem.

How is it being tackled at Prested Hall? Here the aim is to combine training for independence with physical therapy. How far it is succeeding is best answered by the "residents" themselves—so-called to minimise the feeling of an institution.

"I've never felt so free in all my life," says John, who has been there 18 months. He speaks fluently but with difficulty. When he came he had no control of his movements; now he can manage most things except buttons. He is teaching himself to eat in public places, and although so far he has not ventured beyond welsh rarebit, next time, he says, "it will be sausage and chips." At Christmas he went home to Bristol by himself, travelling across London on the Underground. "I couldn't have done it without the therapy," he said. And he does not mean only the physical therapy, so much as the general encouragement to make the best of himself.

"What did you think about Swaffham?" was the first question of Bernard, an Irishman brimming with intelligence and humour. He is a pacifist and "98 per cent in favour of direct action." He cannot walk or talk, but he types rapidly with one finger and plans to study externally at London University. He managed to get to Cambridge to hear Michael Scott speak, and he records in his journal his fear that he might disturb the meeting by emitting one of the uncontrollable grunting noises that are part of his affliction.

It adds to the tragedy of the spastic that, unlike some handicapped people, he is acutely aware of his condition. Because his appearance is against him, few people will make the effort to reach through to his humanity. But those who do will be rewarded by the response.

The testimony of results

The results achieved at Prested Hall are a testimony to this. The aim is to treat the residents as normally as possible, within the limits of their handicap; to teach them to help each other as well as themselves, and also to get them out into the world. Parties are taken regularly to concerts and plays. A weekly WEA lecture is held in the Hall, as well as classes in musical appreciation, history and reading and writing. Other activities include weaving, wood turning and printing. One girl has written a 30,000-word novel, and others have made puppets and written the script for a play.

This is pioneer work of its kind, and its success may or may not be due to the fact that Joe Watson and his wife Doris, who acts as housekeeper, are pacifists. He would not claim that it is, although it is



J. H. WATSON

obvious that his mature humanitarianism, neither sentimental nor over-demanding, has a lot to do with the atmosphere at Prested Hall. And he believes that there is a need for this kind of witness, which may be described as learning how to put up with things. "We don't set out to solve a problem," he says, "but to equip ourselves to deal with it."

For this task Joe Watson is well qualified by his previous experience. He has always been a doer rather than a preacher, from the time when he left school at the age of 12. A former steelworker from Newcastle-on-Tyne — where his uncle founded the local branch of the ILP—he followed Max Plowman as warden of the Adelphi Centre in 1941, and later ran a farming community for 12 years.

"There is always a movement towards community," he says, "call it what you will." It may be no more than the desire for a habitation; but he believes that pacifism, if it is to have any significance, means "wanting peace not only for yourself but for the other fellow." Unlike most of us, he does not stop at wanting it, but works to create it.

AINA LARSSON TELLS A SWEDISH STORY OF 'SOCIALLY DANGEROUS ACTIVITIES'

A spade for the castle guard

—A GIFT HE DIDN'T APPRECIATE

IT all started with a spade and quite an innocent demonstration in Stockholm Castle's courtyard.

We were four youths who wanted to offer an alternative to militarism. We chose a symbol representing work and creativeness in contrast to the gun, the symbol and tool of killing. The spade purchased, the words "In lieu of arms. Gift from World Citizens" were inscribed on it.

We went to the Castle on a Sunday so that we might present our gift solemnly. Everything went according to plan until, simultaneously with the changing of the guards, we came up to the officer in charge and handed over the spade to him. Did he appear glad or thankful? No. Instead, he became purple with rage and howled "Scram." So we returned to our places in the midst of the watching crowd. But policemen rushed up, and we were taken into custody for investigation.

Trial, fines and even jail for one of us who could not afford the fine followed, while the spade has passed through many bureaucratic hands to be finally sold by public auction.

Stirring up revolt

In the two years that followed we have continued our activities with many more demonstrations. The result has always been the same—trials and fines.

But why should we surrender? We are struggling for a just cause. A cause which must sooner or later triumph. That is why we go on!

The charges against us have been changed. It is no longer referred to as "offensive conduct"; the charge is now one of "stirring up revolt."

In Karlstad we have been sentenced to higher fines because we said at a meeting that conscription means "obligation to murder" (what else is it then?) and because we have been encouraging the public to refuse to be conscripted. Such things must not be said! Certain people feel threatened by such utterances. It would be worth while uncovering the reasons for such fears.

There is no freedom of speech in Sweden. These trials prove that. Neither is the UN Declaration of Human Rights being respected. Article 19 says that everyone has freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes the freedom for everyone to hold ideas without interference, receive and spread information and ideas irrespective of frontiers by means of every kind of communication.

In order to penetrate deeper into our "socially dangerous activities" three policemen paid us a visit last spring and searched our house in Nimdodsstreet. They were looking mainly for posters, but they found none.

Official persecution

They had no legal right to carry out such a search. When I asked to see their warrant they ordered me, in haughty manner, to keep quiet. Private mail lying on the desk was read through and some crumpled papers (on which I had been trying out colours) surrounded by firewood in the fireplace were smoothed out and solemnly removed. The gentlemen evidently did not wish to go away empty-handed.

The next time we met them was at a big discussion meeting held at a commercial high school. They took notes of part of what was said. This resulted in another trial. Inge Oskarsson was singled out on this occasion. It was asserted that he had urged strike action against conscription. But—a victory for justice—he was acquitted and the court stated its disapproval of the prosecution's charges.

One is astonished at this official persecution. Of what good is it to try to silence youths with fines and prison?

One and all complain of youth's listlessness and lack of initiative since the young show no interest in society's problems. So some young people stand up and point to an unsatisfactory state of affairs, declare that they do not want to take part in the universal arms race, but that they want instead a peaceful world and a peaceful future.

Should not the community sustain and encourage such a desire? Have not the young people at least the right to claim a future and see to it that they get one, not an empty burnt-out globe minus the human race? Will all youths be looked upon as Teddy Boys, whatever their aims and motives may be? Is it not the duty of all of us to try and change the old, barbaric ways—the classic example of which is militarism?

Gandhi said: "In every society, disobedience is the birthright of every member."

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DIARY

Friday, August 21

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. Grant Ho., North Rd., Leigh Woods, buses 18, 83 and 89. Charney Manor document, on "Possible agreement with the Russians." PPU.

Sunday, August 23

CRAWLEY DOWN: Gt. Frenches Pk. Coach outing. Ramble. Open-air service, Arthur Peacock. Coach leaves Vauxhall Bridge Rd., Victoria, opposite Woolworths, 10 a.m. All welcome. PPU Religion Comm.

Tuesday, August 25

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

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Laos: Where colonialism meets cold war



By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

WHILST President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchov are preparing to get together to solve the problem of Berlin, the hub of the danger area of Central Europe, the East-West conflict threatens to burst into flame in a second danger area, over the problem of Laos in South-East Asia. This is a problem of Colonialism intensified by the Cold War.

Laos is a narrow strip of wild, mountainous country with rice-cultivated valleys, running down the centre of the bulge between India and China. It has Communist China and neutral Burma on the north, Vietnam (half-Communist, half-American-armed) on the east, Thailand (American-armed) on the west, and Cambodia on the south. The strategic importance of Laos in the East-West struggle is therefore evident.

DISASTROUS YEARS

Before the last World War Laos was part of the French federation of Indo-China. France had not the wisdom of Britain, which at the end of the war withdrew from India, nor of the Netherlands, which later withdrew from Indonesia.

France attempted during nine disastrous years to keep Indo-China in its Empire by force of arms.

The future status of Indo-China was settled on paper at the Geneva Conference in 1954. It was divided into its three independent States, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Vietnam, under Communist control in the North, was to be united with South Vietnam by free elections. An International Commission, composed of representatives of India, Poland and Canada, was given the duty of supervising this agreement.

The Geneva conference was hailed as a great triumph for internationalism over the group interests of East and West. The one sceptical country was America. It declined to endorse the decisions, but undertook not to undermine them.

Unhappily the Geneva spirit, as it was acclaimed, did not live. The French and Americans encouraged South Vietnam to continued antagonism towards North Vietnam. The Americans provided military personnel and arms.

VIOLATIONS

The International Commission found itself without powers. Periodically it issued reports, condemning South Vietnam particularly for violations of the Geneva agreement, but it had been given no authority to insist upon compliance. The free elections for the re-union of the two parts of Vietnam have never taken place.

Laos also was disturbed by the conflict between Communists and anti-Communists. The Communist faction was overcome, and the Government declared itself neutral between East and West. It declined to join SEATO, the Western military bloc in South-East Asia. Nevertheless, it accepted American military advisers and American arms. (The Americans have denied that they have troops and bases in Laos. That is not alleged). The Laos Communist forces remained grouped together and were encouraged, and no doubt helped, from North Vietnam and China.

A month ago I expected renewed conflict in Laos.

I received a series of documents from Communist sources denouncing American aid. I was asked by the London representative of the Communist newspaper in North Vietnam to give him an interview. Evidently the Communists were anticipating developments.

EXPLANATIONS

There were two possible explanations of this concerted publicity. It may have been due either to information in Communist hands that the American-armed Laos Government intended to attack their remaining forces, or to a Communist plan to take the offensive against the Government. The Communists give the first explanation; the Americans the second.

Later news discounted any conspiracy in which North Vietnam and China were actually involved. The Times' correspondent in Laos cabled on August 11 that a senior French Officer in close contact with the Laotian Army said that the Communist atacks were by groups of ten or 15 men armed with old weapons, and that there was no evidence that their arms had recently entered the country.

Nevertheless, the position cannot with safety be left as it is. It must continue explosive whilst the antagonism persists between Communist North Vietnam and American-supported South Vietnam.

There will be the danger of outbreaks in Laos between Communists and the Government so long as the Government compromises its neutrality by leaning on America.

In the background of these internal conflicts are Communist China on the northern border and the Western military arm of SEATO at hand to intervene.

The solution would be to neutralise this danger area and to insist that arms should not be given to either side. Immediately, the International Commission appointed by the Geneva Conference should be reconvened and its good offices used to bring about a settlement. The Laos Government objects to this on the ground that such intervention would deny its sovereignty, but the British-American alternative of a United Nations mission wil certainly be unacceptable to China because she has been excluded from UN membership.

DANGEROUS DIVISIONS

A visiting mission to Laos whatever its composition would not, however, be enough. The dangerous division of Vietnam is more serious than the disturbances in Laos. The Geneva Conference decision for reunification by free elections has, as I have said, remained a dead letter.

The right course would therefore be for the Geneva Conference to reassemble to make provision, by a strengthened Commission if necessary, for the earliest implementation of the agreement which it endorsed five years ago.

One hopes that President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchov wil have a thought for South East Asia when they meet. They woud give new hope to the world if they decided that all the danger area—Central Europe, South East Asia, the Middle East and the Far East—were removed from the competition in arms between the American and Communist sides.

Then the peoples of the earth could begin to live in peace and security, independent in reality as well as in name, co-operating with all nations without the inhibitions of the Cold War.

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New LPF scheme

SOCIALISTS TO WRITE ABROAD

THE Labour Peace Fellowship intends to organise a scheme of correspondence between members of the Labour Party, Trade Unions and Co-operators in this country with comrades in the Labour movement overseas.

The Fellowship, which is an organisation of members of the Labour Party and its affiliated organisations opposed to war and militarism and working for international socialism, is hopeful that this correspondence will be a means of discussing the position of socialists overseas towards non-violent action in the world situation, and what policies they can advocate which are consistent with their convictions.

"The purpose of the correspondence," says Mrs. Joyce Butler, MP, in a letter to supporters of the Fellowship, "is therefore to act as a means of sending greetings and keeping in touch with our comrades overseas, many of them isolated, and at the same time taking the opportunity of discovering their views on the present international situation.

"It is also planned to hold a series of meetings at the House of Commons from time to time in order to obtain the views of correspondents on the scheme, and to discuss how to make the fullest use of this correspondence.

"Any readers of Peace News who would like to join in this scheme should send details regarding themselves including name and address, organisation, knowledge of languages, and countries they would like to correspond with, to Mrs. Butler at the House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

Next peace film showing planned

A SECOND viewing session of peace films is to be shown on October 17 in Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, from 2.30—8 p.m. Films so far booked are Overture, Operation Hurricane, Neighbours, Aldermaston March 1959, A Small Planet, Children of Hiroshima (excerpt), A Far Cry, Each Year in May.

Admission tickets costing 1s. 6d. (tea 3s. extra) may be obtained at the above address from the Friends Peace Committee, who are organising the session jointly with the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Peace Committee.

This viewing session follows a very successful first venture in January of this year.

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How they observed Hiroshima Day

"THIS YEAR AGAIN, on the fourteenth anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb, Hiroshima has been the scene of impressive demonstrations against the horrors of nuclear warfare." Thus the Tokio correspondent of the London Times in a long dispatch from Japan.

The anniversary activities in Hiroshima were supported by demonstrations, meetings and other activities all over the world, some of which are reported below. The service in St. Paul's Cathedral and a demonstration in Denmark were reported in Peace News last week. On page five we give an account of the Hiroshima week action at the British Rocket Regiment's base in Dortmund, Germany.

YOUTH FESTIVAL PROBLEMS

From Dr. Francis Rona

THE main lesson to be learned from the Communist-dominated Youth Festival which ended recently here in Vienna is that discussions in mutual tolerance are better able to promote "peaceful co-existence" than a hostile boycott.

Although there were only a few dozen "observers" from pacifist groups among some 18,000 participants from over 100 countries, they had, as I reported in Peace News last week, a good opportunity of presenting their views.

Dr. Hildegard Goss-Mayr, Secretary of the Austrian Fellowship of Reconciliation, who was present at the last festival in Moscow, tells me that the opinions of Communists and non-Communists have been much more vigorously expressed in Vienna than they were in the Russian capital. This progress in mutual tolerance is the most significant feature of the encounter in neutral Austria.

BOYCOTT

While the Austrian government and local authorities showed a reserved but friendly attitude (Chancellor Raab sent a greeting and visited one cultural event) the large non-Communist youth organisations and the press of Vienna boycotted the festival, saying that it served only Communist propaganda. They organised a costly and large-scale anti-festival campaign with posters, the erection of information kiosks, publication of anti-festival dailies in five languages and bus trips to the "iron curtain" frontier.

Despite this campaign, there was not, according to a police report of Aug. 5, a single serious clash between Festival visitors and opponents. The population of Vienna, tens of thousands of whom visited the mass meetings and cultural and sporting events, exhibited no hostility, the main reaction being curiosity towards the exotic dress of the visitors.

As at previous festivals, the cultural events were of the highest standard, and it was an exceptional opportunity for thousands of young people to see the Leningrad Ballet, the Peking Opera, and many other attractive programmes by national delegations. The West German delegation, which presented a simple but impressive "Schiller remembrance" based on ideas of freedom and pacifism which were not in line with East European concepts, won tremendous applause.

COMMUNIST BIAS

Undoubtedly the "Festival idea" has become firmly established on the basis of fruitful contacts between the youth of various beliefs, countries and races. The Communist bias is still prevalent although the "unpolitical" character has been asserted, and up to now the West has not found a constructive answer to this challenge.

But it might be possible to find a common ground for united demonstrations by young people holding different political beliefs if based on a common cause such as "Peace and Friendship."

Either the Communists in the International Festival Committee have to allow adequate controlling influence to "Western" youth organisations or the latter should try to organise their own International Festival. Another alternative would be the creation of some neutral body under the auspices of UNESCO or another UN agency.

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RABBI GREETS CALIFORNIA'S 60-MILE MARCHERS

"Nine young people, militant marchers for peace, trudged into Union Square yesterday with their placards and handbills after walking more than sixty miles from San Jose in the last five days.

'They looked very earnest, quite footsore, and just a little self-conscious.

"It was their way of observing the 14th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima."—Arthur Hoppe, San Francisco Chronicle, August 7, 1959.

CALIFORNIA'S sixty-mile Hiroshima-week march started on Sunday, Aug. 2, when eight people left the campus of San Jose State College at noon, to be joined later by others in a programme of activities under the "Act for Peace" campaign.

At Palo Alto, Rabbi Irving A. Mandel, of Temple Beth Am, welcomed the group, then numbering 15, with a short talk.

"Today," he said, "we don't know where to look for a promised land because all lands are subject to the same terror of nuclear destruction. Let us pray that each in his own tradition will not forget the scarred, mutilated communities."

The group had mailed 1,300 letters to leading citizens in the San Francisco Bay area and also delivered letters to officials at the Stanford Research Institute where much of America's military research is undertaken.

Roy Kepler, spokesman for the marchers, said that they were well received at Stanford and spent 45 minutes with the director, E. Finley Carter, who "showed us serious concern for what concerns them and his concern for peace."

The director told Kepler there were "no warmongers at SRI, just fact-gatherers."

They stayed in the homes of friends and sympathisers each night. On Monday night they were invited to a dinner at the Quaker Meeting House in Palo Alto.

Standing room only at all-day film show

From Austin Underwood

A CONTINUOUS film show, which included "Children of Hiroshima," "Shadow of Hiroshima," and "One World or None" attracted nearly 500 people to Salisbury Guildhall between 10 a.m. and 9 p.m. on Hiroshima Day.

No advertising was undertaken by the organisers, the Salisbury Council for Nuclear Disarmament, the people being attracted to the Guildhall by a loud-speaker van parked outside in the Market Square. At one time the hall was packed with standing room only.

The day was opened at 8.15 a.m. with the chimes of Big Ben striking the quarter followed by the tape recorded sound of an atom bomb explosion. A reading, by Paddie Sergean, describing how four Japanese schoolboys died followed.

In an opening speech, Donald Dickinson, a city magistrate and Chairman of the Council for Nuclear Disarmament, stressed the significance of Hiroshima Day for every individual in Britain.

The day proved one of the most successful events organised by the Council. Supplies of leaflets were exhausted and many signatures against nuclear arms collected.

IN THE A-BOMB CITY

From Shingo Shibata.

ON August 6, 1959, some 30,000 people gathered at a memorial service in the Peace Square at Hiroshima to pray for 200,000 victims of the 1945 A-bombing. Among those attending the memorial service, held under the auspices of the Hiroshima municipal government, were 80 foreign delegates from 24 countries.

Hiroshima's Mayor, Shinzo Hamai, opened the ceremonies by enshrining before a memorial monument the names of 187 persons who died during the past year from effects of the atom bombing 14 years ago. After foreign representatives of the conference laid wreaths at the monument, the Mayor released 1,000 "doves of peace" dedicated to the cause of world peace.

At 8.15 a.m. sharp—the time when the world's first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima—sirens were sounded and church and temple bells were rung throughout the city as 430,000 citizens offered a one-minute silent prayer for the atom-bomb victims.

Meanwhile, the fifth World Convention Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was held at 17 separate places, including the Hiroshima Municipal Public Auditorium. Taken up for discussion were the following three topics: (1) Hazards of radiation and dangers of atomic warfare; (2) The world situation; and (3) Reports of preliminary conferences.

At Milwaukee's War Memorial

CARRYING posters with the slogans "End the Missile Race," "Let Mankind Live," "Non-violent Resistance an Alternative," "Vote on War," and many others, about 35 people marched through the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

Members of the Milwaukee Hiroshima Memorial Committee had carnations placed on the city war memorial after a period of prayer.

"We renounce the use of mass violence which can still destroy the peoples of other countries as well as our own," said leaflets distributed during the walk.

The leaflets quoted Vice-President Nixon's statement on his arrival in Moscow on July 23 that in another war "there will be no victors, only losers."

22 speakers in Western Australia

From L. Wilkinson.

A TWO-HOUR open-air meeting held in the busy heart of Perth, Western Australia, on Hiroshima Day was addressed by 22 men and women and supported by a number of organisations.

The speakers at this lunch-time forum on the theme "Let us manufacture, test and stockpile Friendship and Trust" included an MP, Trade Unionists, ministers of religion, representatives of the Australian Labour Party, women's organisations and Quakers.

The meeting was organised by the local Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Catholic Archbishop opens debate in Natal press

"EACH of us should strive to make it clearly understood what a bestial thing a nuclear war would be. At the same time we should ask ourselves is a nuclear war permissible."

University students at Natal, South Africa, heard this plea on the eve of Hiroshima Day from the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev. Denis E. Hurley, when he spoke to them on "Moral aspects of H-bomb warfare."

Although he has not identified himself with their activities, the Archbishop's examination of the issue of nuclear war and the publicity given to it in the Natal press has been warmly welcomed by peace workers in the province.

Discussing morality as an introduction to his talk, the Archbishop said that some people held that morality did not exist and that man had no control over his behaviour. Others were sceptical in that they accepted the existence of morality, but stated that man could know nothing about it unless proved experimentally.

The third category recognised that there was a certain quality of human behaviour which was known as morality and which existed over and above physical ability. Morality was the conformity of free activity with a law.

Unjustified

The Archbishop emphasised, reports the Natal Witness, that war was inherently unjustified and totally animal, yet under certain circumstances some systems justified these things.

Some moralists justified warfare and pointed out that the unjust aggressor forfeited his rights in that by his actions he could be counter-attacked.

In most wars between religious people in the past both sides had preachers who proclaimed their cause and exhorted their armies to "get in and win."

In the light of these happenings in the past, the Archbishop turned to the fact that the world was faced with the real possibility of nuclear warfare, in which large parts of the world could be wiped out and the genes of the human race affected to such a degree that a race of monsters could be produced.

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